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ABSTRACT

The institution called the "junior high" was established in response to an accumulation of dissatisfaction with the education and with the socialization of the age group termed the "middle child", children in the 11th or 12th year through the 14th year. However, serious rethinking of the entire 7-12 sequence now needs to be undertaken. Studies are currently underway in at least nine Northeastern and Middle Atlantic States, generated in part by the pressure of accountability and cost effectiveness efforts, aimed at some basic questions concerning what it is any high school graduate should know and know how to do, at a very minimum, and the identification of some of the best new and old ways of getting him there--in or out of school. The standard junior high school should be abolished and, in its stead, three years of planned real work experiences should be established. The three years of work should roughly correspond to the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades and the tasks that would change over that period of time. Entering students, the equivalent of 7th graders, should be divided into work teams of no more than six young people, to work under the direction of and receive direction from a term leader. The conventional 36-week school year should be divided into four 9-week terms, each term to contain six weeks of "work" and three weeks of intellectual, aesthetic, and physical education activities. (Author/MLF)

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Socialization and the "Middle" Child: A Twentieth Century Model of a Seventeenth Century Process

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The society delegates certain functions to schools: the transmittal of certain values, the development of certain skills, the reinforcement of certain attitudes, and the acceptance of certain limitations. That these transfers and developments are seldom equally acceptable to the various constituents involved -- parents, citizens, faculty, students -- is partly due to the nature of the task; partly due to the ambivalence of one or more of the constituents, partly because of the lag between its recognition of the society's needs and the institutional response; and, in significant part, to the irritating way institutions have of operating in terms of their own accidental set of dynamics rather than in terms of the hopes of the founders or the needs of the clients.

The institution called the "junior high" was established in response to an accumulation of dissatisfactions with the education and with the socialization of the age group we have termed the "middle child", children in the 11 or 12th year through the 14th year. I will suggest that the junior high has become seriously dysfunctional in its educational and its socializing task, in large part because of the scope, ambivalence and organizational problems mentioned earlier, but also in particular because we have misread the fundamental need of young adolescents to deal with their anxieties about their competence to fill adult roles by testing themselves in substantial and worthwhile tasks.

Begun about 1910, the junior high developed in an atmosphere of optimism and Progressive cheerfulness. It would, its supporters

asserted, solve the drop-out problem, or at any rate help keep thousands of youngsters in school at least one more year by simply changing the critical transition year upward one notch. Presumably those who might have left at the "natural" division between the 8-year elementary school and the high school would now wait until the end of 9th grade, giving the school one more year to capture them for the secondary program.

It would increase the holding power of the schools not only because of this mathematical sleight of hand, but also because there was a "natural" congruence of needs and behaviors in people of this age which a separate institution could more fully serve. Better teaching would be designed for the age group, more attention could be paid to the discipline problems unique to the age, better guidance and vocational direction, more emphasis on the individual and on the non-academic needs of students. Some supporters argued for independence from the demands of the high school, for the improved capacity of a separate school separately administered to withstand the college-bound emphasis of the senior high in order to meet the whole-life needs of younger adolescents, now and later. Others, more numerous and more convincing, argued the merits of junior high as a way to reduce "wastefulness" in the elementary school, to reduce the time necessary in school before entering college. So while some were proposing, although they did not call it that, an open, exploratory, self-discovery kind of interlude, others were forcefully pushing for subjects which had traditionally been taught in the senior high to be moved downward, algebra, classical and modern foreign languages, formal study of science, all to be begun earlier, mastered

earlier. Both ideas were swallowed together and imperfectly digested by the new institution.

Other powerful events affected and limited the hatching of the junior high. The increased immigration resulting in larger numbers of students who needed not only schooling but instant Americanization co-incided with increased native enrollments resulting from the superfluousness of child labor in an increasingly mechanized industry. Compulsory attendance laws were the opposite side of the coin from child labor laws. Society needed a place to store surplus and immature labor, and a new breed of school administrator aspired to become the manager of larger and more efficiently differentiated operations. The final, and in some towns only really convincing, argument for junior highs was the population pressure on the senior high schools. The old senior high could economically become the junior high, and a new building be built to house the final three grades, a simpler political and less costly physical task than building an additional four-year school.

The pattern got set for the young American's educational odyssey, which, though it may differ from system to system in many important respects, does find almost all students spending six years in the not uniformly beautiful intimacy of the autonomous classroom in a comparatively small, relatively homogenous population, three years in a departmentalized junior high school in a comparatively larger, diverse population, and three years in the senior high school in a very large, very diverse population.

The high expectations for the uniqueness of the junior high have rarely been realized. Teacher training specific to the age group did not

follow. In fact, training for prospective teachers in the care and nurture of the adolescent is sparse and ineffective. We have some theories of adolescence which chiefly derive from the experience of therapists; my quarrel is not that their patients are not typical, but that the therapeutic experience gives us such a poor model for dealing with young persons in groups. Where the early childhood literature is rich with suggestions of the cognitive hay which can be made of children's interactions with one another, the adolescence literature may describe the importance of the group to the adolescent but otherwise deals with atoms. Junior high guidance is even more superficial and spotty than senior high guidance.

In spite of its early promise of individual attention and a thoughtful balance between the knowledge needs and the social needs of the young adolescent, the junior high has become a large, impersonal place where no teacher sees any student long enough to notice problems, much less reach across the frantic corridors to help. Teachers of 7th graders spend too much time the first ~~two~~ few weeks of school reminding students that they are no longer "babies", under the protection of "soft" elementary teachers, that they are now in a tough school where they will be expected to produce without whimpering. Meanwhile, between classes, these 7th graders are subjected to psychological or physical intimidation by 9th graders enjoying their last year as King of the Hill.

Parents surrender their children to the school, and citizens their tax funds, with the faith that at the end of the school process the young adults will be able to discharge the responsibilities of adult roles in employment, civic life, and family life, as these roles are presently understood. This general acceptance of the school's right and obligation

to instruct, evaluate, punish and shape is at one and the same time the key that opens possibilities and the glue that holds the whole operation together.

The question is: Are the schools in fact performing the information, skill and attitude developing function that they are authorized to do as well as they can, exacting from the students no greater costs in self-surrender than is absolutely necessary to arrive at that minimum level of competence society is entitled to require of each individual so he and it can survive and adapt?

I believe that there is a discrepancy between the goals professed for the junior high and the actual results, but how do we explain the difference? Certain of my more cynical and weary students have suggested that the junior highs do very well at achieving their proper goal of preparing youngsters to function in our society; that they systematically and intentionally develop passivity, a reluctance to become deeply personally invested, an acceptance of one's own limitations, anti-intellectualism and a distrust of excellence, and over-dependence on peer approval. They find me excessively romantic for persisting in believing that the real goals of schools are to give students exposure to democratic values and practices, opportunities for independence and resourcefulness, and experience with a problem solving style that will generalize to life as well as future academic work. Tempting as the cynical, fatigued view may be, I will propose a model for schooling younger adolescentes that assumes that the social activity necessary to support schools is energized by the need for competent adults who are independent, who can cooperate, who are capable. To get to this model I must describe

the junior high as I see it. Maybe my portrait is a trifle overdrawn. On the other hand, students with whom I've shared it, junior high teachers, parents, a few administrators, all feel if anything I've been too kind.

Look. Onto the same half acre we have placed perhaps a thousand persons at a point in their lives where they have little or no certain identity. Proximity and density enable them to cannibalize an identity from one another. For some this works, for the aggressive, the hustler, the born ward-heeler, the youthful market analyst who reads his own and others weaknesses uncannily well. Survival skills for most students, however, are not fully compatible with or productive of the adult behaviors we say we require to survive and adapt, together and separately, in the "real world". A junior high school is a wonderful setting for The Lord of the Flies. Even in the "best" sururban schools there is intimidation, extortion, threats and physical terror. The psychological forms of dominance and coercion are no less powerful or persuasive. Like an enormous aquarium, the student fish act out Lord of the Flies while the responsible adults in the institution ride like waterbugs on the surface scum, never looking down because if they did they would be obliged to do something about it, and they don't know what to do.

The junior high is an intellectual wasteland. Few students have significantly better skills when they leave than they had at entry, many have retreated. At the "better" schools there may be a tacit agreement between students and teachers. Teachers pretend to teach and students pretend to learn and only a rare oddball from either camp takes it really seriously. In the "worst" schools, discipline is such an open problem

that many teachers no longer even pretend to teach, but instead talk to themselves while students make no pretense of learning, talking with one another, doing other things. A good class in such a school is one in which the non-learning is done reasonably quietly and courteously. A bad class is noisy and disruptive and sometimes violent.

Teacher morale is extremely low in the junior high. Practically no one was trained for the specific characteristics of this age student. In most states there are no certificates for junior high teachers; all hold simply secondary certificates and their pre-service training has contained no theoretical or practical work with younger adolescents. In fact, much pre-service preparation of secondary teachers contains no work on adolescence at all. Many junior high teachers sought senior high jobs, and would prefer to move to the senior high the moment an opening occurred. Some others, much the worse, stick with junior high for fear senior high would tax their intellectual strength. The movements to discourage high schools from imitating colleges have largely failed, with consequent damage to the college preparatory student equally as serious as that done to the terminal student. And since so many junior high teaches are closet high school teachers, the junior high program imitates the high school program which aspires to imitate the college program. But the junior high student is singularly unsuited to being taught by an imitation college program. He is restless, vigorous, anxious and intense. The junior high teacher many days describes himself as a zoo-keeper. The concepts, the strategies, the complexly beautiful balances of science or of language, all the elements that might have made a person love a field enough to want to teach it, are wrung of significance by the indifference of this crude, clamoring, free and unfree, uncertain and defenseless

aggregate. Administrators try all the things that used to work and don't anymore. Control is the magic word. Control is so important that fear and rage are expressed by principals and faculty alike when courts or state boards of education promulgate student bills of rights even when these simply underline the rights to due process, which have so often been ignored in relations between schools and their object children.

And teachers are no easier to control. Teacher militance is a function not only of inflation or a social force which is universal and irresistible. It's also a sign in any white collar group that the juice has gone out of the job and all that's left is money and that symbolic money, "working conditions".

Principals, surrounded by restless students full of problems and flexed and unflexed power plus uptight teachers unhappy with their jobs and prospects, have barely enough energy left to fight off the paperwork and encroachments on their limited autonomy from the central administration, and, depending on the setting, community pressures of various types. Many principals with whom I have talked can describe the exact situation and sympathize with the plight of students and teachers. They have some very clear notions of the problems and of solutions they might like to attempt but they feel, and may be they are, powerless to bring it all to a stop and start off in another direction.

The curriculum in the junior high is fragmented, superficial, broad. Cut up into arbitrary divisions, parceled out in 47 minute periods. It does not often address the unwritten agenda of the clientele -- their <u>now</u> and their <u>later</u>. Most of the writers on the junior high recognize the

sexual component of the behavior, restlessness and energy of the students. In fact, they may be trying to make sex stand for more in the array of "problems" than it really does. The controlling anxiety of the early adolescent is whether or not he can ever hack it as an adult. Sexual exploration and attractiveness and activity, it is clear to every youngster, are a very important part of being an adult. But we have overestimated the role of sex in identity formation and underestimated the roles of competence and of work in earning one's adult identity. Young adolescents are deeply concerned about what kind of job they will be able to get, what kind of life that will mean, whether they will be able to handle irritable bosses, unfriendly co-workers, cruel drill instructors, cops, tax men, insurance agents and store clerks. The very openness and uncertainty which excite an adult about the endless potential of life and its opportunities for young people today is frightening to the young adolescent. And why not. He has had a life in isolation from work. Most parents have jobs that cannot be described in terms that make much sense to someone with no experience to draw upon. Most parents would not be permitted to bring a child to work even for a half day -- it would be distracting or dangerous. And in most school districts in most states that would be for the child an "illegal absence". Residential patterns of the last thirty years put homes in zones where no work other than domestic work is performed. Even housework does not require or even permit the use of children as much as it once did to perform needed work and learn useful skills, in which one could judge over time one's own increasing self-sufficiency, however much one might complain under one's breath. Trips to the fire house, the pretzel factory, the umbrella works do not stand in for the familiarity

that used to grow over a lifetime, not with the specifics of a particular work, but with some of its general qualities -- time binding, wages, production, excellence as compared with acceptability, exchange, dependence on others, frustration, fatigue, and satisfaction.

There is little work to be observed, little to do in the home, little to do for the neighbors. Thanks to benign laws very little wage work of any kind can be done at all before age 16 or 17, and not all work even then. Enterprise like carrying grocery bags outside supermarkets for tips is discouraged by the manager on grounds of insurance liability. It is a lot easier to find sex before 16 than it is to find a job.

The relationship of school content and skills towork roles is rarely drawn in the school, in part because the curriculum is so arbitrary and contrived, a symbol for which mostly we have forgotten the referrent, but also in part because the adults in the school have never left school in any way which would create or transform their understanding of work as large numbers of ordinary people experience it. They themselves have always been students or teachers, and those realities do not, the student may rightly suspect, translate into more interdependent types of work. Team teaching, for example, comes very hard to many teachers, trained for autonomous classrooms. When students cooperate in school it is called cheating. Common enterprise is scrupulously excised from the classroom and is then artificially reintroduced as interscholastic sports.

The junior high student might be described as that person who at a physically vigorous time in his life is confined to classrooms even more traditional than those he is likely to have experienced; who at a time of growing uncertainty about his own and his parents' values and life style is surrounded by hundreds of similarly restless and insecure people trying

to create themselves at his expense; who desperately needs to test himself in a variety of adult roles to confirm experientially that he can in fact handle the strains and the responsibility; who needs to learn not only how to safely extricate his self from the diffuse self of his family, but also to be able increasingly to recognize and develop and distinguish his behavior and needs and judgments from those of the peer group.

There is much to be said for the convenience and economy and efficiency of the school in an industrial, technological, diverse and changing society -- but one of the prices we have paid for more dearly than necessary is the creation of the peer group and its resulting tyranny, tyranny over individual students, over the climate of the school, over the conduct of teaching, over the conduct of family life. Peers are, of course, important, and exist in societies where there never were any schools at all. What concerns us here, however, is the artificially large and powerful group created by age-grading of pupils for other reasons. Others have pointed out the negative influence of this artificial creation in schools, but I want to emphasize that it exists at our pleasure and can be broken if we want to invent some less destructive ways of organizing people to learn what we feel they may need to survive and grow.

I want to suggest such an invention, such a remedy. It is probably too costly and too politically complicated to institute on a large scale, but that does not discourage me from offering it here for discussion, or from continuing efforts to implement it as an option for about 100 students out of a junior high population of some 3000 students in my small city.

First let me acknowledge that a serious re-thinking of the entire 7-12 sequence needs to be undertaken. Studies are currently underway in at least nine Northeastern and Middle Atlantic States, generated in part by the pressure of accountability and cost-effectiveness efforts, aimed at some basic questions of what it is any high school graduate ought to know and know how to do at a very minimum, and what are some of the best new and old ways of getting him there, in or out of school. I speak of minimum learning outcomes because there is a real question in my mind of how much someone should be compelled to learn, not for his own benefit but for some presumed benefit to his society. Those studies may yield us some useful benchmarks over the next couple of years. Let me for now zero in, in a very speculative way, on the junior high age population, the grade 7-9 period, the 11/12 to 14 years olds.

I propose to abolish the standard junior high school and to establish in its stead three years of planned real work experiences. I have turned to the world of work for several reasons, not the least of which very likely is that, as a New Englander, I view work as therapeutic and redemptive as well as economically necessary. Work is the main concern of adults, the primary source of their identity, and it is about their eventual competence in work that young adolescents worry. There is another element which contributes to youthful anxiety which I feel will also be reduced by the work curriculum. In our practice of prolonging adolescence, young people are on the receiving end of parental and community support for very long periods of time. They are themselves an economic liability to their family and their school district. Being the recipient of so much wealth, even if in forms that may not be very appealing, is destructive of the sense of

independence and competence which we want schools to build in students. The average freshman in one of my courses represents a $15,000 educational investment on the part of his home town alone, not counting what has been lavished on him educationally by his family or in anticipation of his coming by state or federal authorities, not counting his parents continued investment during his undergraduate years. Many of my freshmen are contemptuous of the old home town, plan never to return, feel strongly that nobody got their money's worth. Receiving has corrupted them. They resent their dependence and have a self-contempt for always taking. Receiving corrupts in ways that giving never does.

The 12 year old who enters junior high may represent an $8,000 to $10,000 investment already, just as he stands. If he can put something of value, which he and the community recognize to be of value, back into his community, perhaps his perception of himself and the community's conception of youth will change. I am, at the very least, convinced that he will learn more about himself and the larger world in the process than he would in traditional junior high.

The three years of work will roughly correspond to the 7th, 8th and 9th grades, and the tasks will change over that period of time. Entering students, the equivalent of 7th graders, will be divided into work teams of no more than six young people, who will work with and under the direction of a team leader or teacher or mentor, whatever term seems most apt. It makes sense to me to have three girls and three boys to a team, and it would be permissible for affinity groups to present themselves as a team or a part of a team. The conventional 36-week school year would be divided into four 9-week terms. Each term would contain six weeks of "work" and

three weeks of intellectual, aesthetic and physical education activities. The adult would follow his team throughout the year, working along with the students during the work phase, but be joined by additional teachers during the home-base phase of each term.

The four work experiences over the year would include some of the variety of useful work that needs to be done but which communities cannot often afford to hire people to do; painting fences, cleaning streams, cleaning alleys and vacant lots, making tot lots and playgrounds, being teacher aids in Head Start, kindergarten and the primary grades, being tutors to 4th through 6th graders, visiting and doing errands for home-bound older people, assisting in children's hospitals and institutions for old people. Two types of experiences would be required -- one term with the very young and one term with the very old. Part of the cost of the nuclear family, modern living patterns,and the reliance on external agencies is that young adolescents have little sense of themselves as being in a continuum of life. Limited to the company of age-mates, they are surrounded by one variety of weakness, no memory of their own past, no understanding of the inescapable future, an easy avoidance of their own mortality, a defensive contempt to adults in the prime of life their chief weapon. Young adolescents need for their own balance a context of human growth and change in which to understand their own experience, and they have a right to be needed, to perform the significant tasks which the generations used to perform for one another before life got so complicated we hired social workers to be our surrogates.

The other two work experiences will depend on the weather, local opportunities and local limitations. The coordinator of the project will have much to do to line up work experiences that are needed, useful, significant, and will keep a crew of six young people and an adult busy

for six hours a day for six weeks.

A lot of talk will be generated in the work experience. The students will see new things to be done, new materials to be developed, some questions to be resolved. Some of these may require some new skill training during the work experience; some will suggest the calling in of an authority to be learned from; some may require some extensive homework by the students in curriculum libraries and materials centers to create materials for tutoring. The adult will be expected to facilitate these requirements, to focus the talk at appropriate times, to prod the students to more profound analysis. In some cases the problems perceived as a result of the work experience will provide the basic content for the home-base three weeks. If not, content will have been developed by the adult that will derive its power to excite and engage from the particular work experience. This problem-centered emphasis will require the use of reading, writing and speaking skills. Techniques of library research, interviewing, and data gathering will be found necessary to develop. These skills will not be taught in isolation -- they will be attached first to the felt concern. Then generalizability can be noted and developed.

Two other aspects of the home base three weeks are equally important. The first is arts skills training. There are so many kinds of statements which people need to make over the course of their lives that they need a variety of mediums to select from. Schools teach words primarily, and if schools don't do that training well or if the message is not truly sayable, the students' communication is awkward or thwarted or abandoned. Not everyone has "talent" but unless one has the skills, he has no means

to "speak" at all. Our students should be able to choose to become articulate in silk screen and other printmaking, oils, sculpture, film, still photography, needlecrafts, and other modes.

The home base format will permit long blocks of time (four hours, for example) for these activities, and the relationship of the art products to the work experience does not have to be labored here.

Another aspect of the home base period is physical education. The work experiences will usually involve a lot of active movement, and a full day of it, probably more activity than the traditional junior high with its two 40 and 50 minute periods of physical education a week. In the work experience alternative, students would not be prohibited from participating in interscholastic sports at the main junior high facility, but it would not be encouraged. Rather, informal involvement of the work teams in seasonal activities, skating, swimming, bicycling, tennis, touch football, would be encouraged. In the home base period vigorous team activities would be made possible by the presence of four work teams at the site at any one time, and instruction and practice in these activities would be fostered, as would intensive skill instruction in a choice of lifetime sports.

The home base period would make a very modest demand on facilities. A "Y" or church gym in its unused day hours, a meeting room and arts facilities.

The second year would be a new round of four terms. The work teams could remain intact or regroup. Business and industry and public agencies would be brought into the range of available work, depending

on local conditions, particularly the state of the local job market, and labor laws. Some teams may generate their new tasks out of the previous year's experiences and study. Others will not, and will instead select from a prepared array of experiences. In either year it is possible to spend an additional term at a task that has been especially involving.

There is nothing about career education in here so far. We are not encouraging students to prematurely decide on vocation. We and they know only that they will in fact do work of some kind, that they will benefit in a variety of ways from the work of others, that they must study work as it has not often been studied by younger students. They must study work for the data it provides them about their society and its values, its economy, its educational institutions, its reward structures. They must study work for the significance it has to an individual - apart from the set of statements sociologists might make about work, but also study those statements. They must study work to understand and maybe to seek to control the kind and rate of change that, in altering the relationship of persons to work, alters the world.

Even in the 9th grade year we will not have a career choice emphasis. For the first half of the year the student will be placed, alone this time, not part of a small group of students, in a work experience of his own choosing. For eighteen weeks he will follow the schedule and abide by the rules and deal with the tasks of that work setting. There will be weekly seminar sessions of the 9th grade workers conducted by an adult staff member, who may also be contacted during working hours if problems or questions arise. The staff will communicate regularly with employers, and may make site visits whenever they feel it advisable.

The second half of the 9th grade year will be spent preparing for senior high under careful staff advisement. Most students are not aware of the economic or other lifetime consequences of the high school courses they select, or the relationship of success or failure in the courses to other life chances. Youngsters who have been exposed to scores of people in all kinds of work situations will better understand the imperfect correspondences between education and jobs. The staff may point out to a student that while he has the will and the potential ability to handle courses he now feels necessary, he lacks the immediate prerequisites. During the 18 weeks there is time and very likely the motivation to undertake and complete tutorials or small group instruction in math or writing or reading skills to the level needed for 10th grade work.

Tenth grade should not be a problem for these experienced and independent young people, but it is my hope that they may present a problem for the senior high. They should have a strongly instrumental approach to learning, good problem defining and solving skills, the capacity to work alone or with others, and independence of judgment. That could help to change the assumptions upon which much senior high course work is based, and the level of expectation of the faculty.

I would also think that the student in the work program would develop a somewhat different relationship with his family than students in the traditional junior high. He will have experiences in common with his parents, in common not with their memories of adolescence but with their present realities. He will need advice which he now doesn't need from the only few people who can give it to him, and he will have experiences to share that his parents can relate to and enlarge upon. He

should also be better able to understand, relate to, and respond to the expressed and unexpressed hopes and fears his parents have for him as an adult.

Who will staff such a program? The ratios look wonderfully low and horribly expensive. How can we use such a program to change not only the handful of students it will serve but also the mainstream schools? When I first began thinking about alternatives to the junior high, I thought of staff in a kind of 1968 model -- cheap, bright, capable persons with many opportunities who might find such a worker-teacher role an exciting temporary commitment between other better-paying options. And I felt, and still feel, that it was terribly important for younger adolescents to be exposed to a wider range of adult human personalities than is usually found in a group of teachers. But it's 1974 and sandal-makers are in very short supply. Even if they were abundant, they had limited staying power and very little impact on schools. What we require is persons with a long-term professional commitment to kids and to schools and to themselves as professional teachers. We will find such people emerging from some schools with new degrees and we will find many such people already in the schools, even in the junior high, frustrated and despairing and excruciatingly aware that their pre-service training did not give them any good gimmicks that work with this age group.

It has been suggested that this program would make an excellent turn-around training year for teachers already in the system. Carefully selected volunteers would undergo some intensive training in August. I haven't developed the exhaustive syllabus yet, but it would certainly include some developmental psychology, theories of adolescence, theories of work, sociology of education, and an intense orientation to the attitudes

and goals of the program. The director of the program would be responsible for careful monitoring of the performance and growth of the staff, and for the concurrent staff seminar. The expectation is that the experience of working intimately in a facilitating and working relationship with a small number of students, seeing close up how their minds work, how they say or fail to say what they feel or see or know, the variety of problem attack styles, the ways in which experience relates to more formal kinds of learning -- these experiences would prevent that teacher from ever being quite the same as he or she might have been before. The object of the teacher involvement is not to convert all junior highs to imitations of the program -- that is too costly on several levels. It can be hoped, however, that the style and content of instruction would change, that more use would be made of the students' out of school experiences, that teachers would be more sensitive to non-verbal communication (their own as well as the students), and that teacher skills in dealing with adolescent behavior would be greatly improved.

Even bare bones it will cost 12 new teachers and a director. Even if some of this cost is charged to in-service, the costs of retraining old teachers in this manner is pretty high. Maybe those benefitting agencies could "pay" a modest portion of the value of the work they receive, and this would cover some of the costs. The financial problem is interesting but not insoluble. Some of the students not reached by traditional programs often end up costing their communities many thousands a year in prison costs, much more than this program costs, but I am not advocating this as crime prevention any more than I am drop-out prevention or career ed.

What I am suggesting is first the need to restore, and then a way to restore, real work experiences to socialize the young adolescent. In the 17th century his labor was needed and valued, even if individualism was not. The 13 year old then did not have an identity crisis which we would be able to recognize. He or she did men's or women's work and had a lot of their privileges and most of their penalties. We cannot and most of us would not most days want to return our children to those days, with worry over early death from disease and anxiety over the state of one's immortal soul. I think we can contrive, however, to rescue them from plastic settings where reality is summoned only through simulations, role-playing and games. Technology has washed out much of the useful work that made sense of the lives of children and adults. We cannot capture the wholeness of Amish life if we don't want to wash in cold water, forego TV, and rarely go faster than 10 miles an hour or more than 30 miles from home. Short of that, well short of nostalgia for village life that never was and might drive us bats if we could find it, we can recognize that the needs to be useful, to be competent, and to test oneself against real and difficult tasks were more important to growing up whole than we realized. We can provide those opportunities in the model I have described, a model which adds the necessary 20th century element of the self-conscious study of work itself.